

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 301556

NODIS

FOR DR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT KATHMANDU 5533 ACTION SECSTATE DEC 19.

QUOTE S E C R E T KATHMANDU 5533

NODIS

PERSONAL FOR BZINSKI, WHITE HOUSE, FROM AMBASSADOR WRIGGINS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: XD

SUBJECT: THOUGHTS ON STATEMENTS BEFORE AND DURING PRESIDENT'S
VISIT TO INDIA

1. THOUGH SRI LANKA IS MY PRESENT RESPONSIBILITY, IN VIEW OF THE
PROSPECTIVE IMPORTANCE TO SOUTH ASIA OF THE PRESIDENT'S UPCOMING
VISIT TO INDIA AND THE ROLE OF INDIA IN THE AREA, I FEEL CON-
STRAINED TO SEND THE FOLLOWING ENTIRELY PERSONAL COMMENTS TO
MY FORMER - AND PRESENT - COLLEAGUE.

2. FIRST, CONGRATULATIONS FOR RAISING THE IMPORTANCE OF
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INDIA IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY ONCE AGAIN AND FOR EXPRESSING THE
RELEVANCE TO OUR CONCEPTION OF A DESIRABLE WORLD ORDER OF INDIA
AND SRI LANKA'S RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES AND EFFORT
TO ACHIEVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THROUGH DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES.

3. AS YOU KNOW I TOO HAVE ARGUED IN FAVOR OF SUCH A PER-
CEPTION OF OUR INTERESTS AND AM THANKFUL TO BE PART OF AN

ADMINISTRATION THAT IS MOVING IN THIS DIRECTION. I HAVE PASSED REPRINTS OF YOUR RECENT SPEECHES AND INTERVIEWS ON THESE MATTERS TO LEADING MEMBERS OF THE JAYEWARDENE GOVERNMENT.

4. BUT I HOPE IN THE WEEKS AHEAD AND DURING THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT WE CAN AVOID OVERLY ENTHUSIASTIC ADMIRATION FOR INDIA'S DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLICIT COMMITMENT OF EXTENSIVE BI-LATERAL ECONOMIC SUPPORT.

5. DESAI HAS RESTORED CIVIL LIBERTIES AND COMPETITIVE POLITICS, AND THAT IS AN ADMIRABLE ACCOMPLISHMENT IN ITSELF. BUT THERE IS AS YET LITTLE SIGN OF EFFECTIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICY. SINCE NO ONE HAS THUS FAR FOUND AN ANSWER TO INDIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT NEEDS, WE DO NOT WANT TO SET INDIA UP AS A MODEL OF DEMOCRATIC ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT HOWEVER MUCH WE MIGHT WISH IT WERE AND ARE PREPARED TO HELP MAKE IT SO WHERE WE CAN BE USEFUL.

6. WHILE READY TO HAVE MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIPS WITH US THAN ITS PREDECESSOR, DESAI'S GOVERNMENT IS CONSTRAINED BY SEVERE LIMITS ON ITS FREEDOM OF MANEUVER BY VIRTUE OF THE INTERNAL BALANCE OF POLITICAL FORCES, ITS DEPENDENCE ON THE SOVIET UNION FOR MILITARY SUPPLIES, ETC., IT WILL NOT WANT OUR PUBLIC POLITICAL EMBRACE TO SEEM SO INTIMATE AS TO APPEAR DESIGNED TO DRAW INDIA FROM ITS NON-ALIGNED COURSE.

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7. IN THE PAST WHEN INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAVE IMPROVED WE HAVE ALWAYS GENERATED INFLATED EXPECTATIONS BOTH IN THE U.S. AND IN INDIA OF THE ECONOMIC AND FOREIGN POLICY SUPPORT WE WERE READY TO GIVE INDIA AND THE READINESS OF INDIA TO SUPPORT OUR FOREIGN POLICY GOALS AND ACTION. NEITHER PARTY COULD LIVE UP TO THESE EXPECTATIONS AND A BACKLASH OF DISILLUSIONMENT SEVERELY COMPLICATED RELATIONS AFTER EACH SUCH PERIOD OF EUPHORIA.

8. INDIA'S SUSTAINED AID NEEDS ARE TRULY HUGE DESPITE INDIAN LEADERS' DESIRES FOR SELF-RELIANCE AND NO U.S. CONGRESS WILL PROVIDE THE RESOURCES INDIA'S ECONOMY REALLY NEEDS.

9. INDIA'S SMALLER NEIGHBORS ARE RENDERED NERVOUS BY TOO OBVIOUS AN AMERICAN ENCOURAGEMENT AND IMPLICIT PREFERENCE FOR A PREEMINENT INDIA. THIS SUGGESTS TO THE NERVOUS SMALL NEIGHBORS THAT WE ARE NOT MERELY LIKELY TO ACQUIESCE TO WHATEVER INDIA MAY DO IN THE FUTURE, BUT THAT WE EVEN MAY BE ENCOURAGING INDIA TO ACT AS THE PREEMINENT POWER, A PHRASE WHICH CONJURES RECOLLECTION OF BRITAIN'S HISTORICAL ROLE ON THE SUB-CONTINENT. WHILE THESE SMALLER NEIGHBORS GENERALLY TRUST DESAI AND THINK WELL OF RECENT INDIAN POLICIES TOWARD THEM, THEY ARE NOT AT ALL PERSUADED THAT INDIA'S LONG RUN INTENTIONS ARE NECESSARILY BENIGN.

10. FOR THESE AND OTHER REASONS, I COMMEND TO YOUR REFLECTION
PARAGRAPHS 2A AND 3K OF KATHMANDU'S 5528, BEING THE CONCLUSIONS
OF A SOUTH ASIAN CHIEF OF MISSION MEETING WHICH DISBANDED ON
DECEMBER 18.

11. AGAIN, THESE REPRESENT MY PERSONAL VIEWS AND ARE FORWARDED
AS SUCH, BUT THEY REFLECT CONSIDERED CONCLUSIONS AFTER SUSTAINED
CONVERSATIONS WITH MY REGIONAL COLLEAGUES. TOGETHER, THESE
OBSERVATIONS COMMEND A STRICT REIN ON THE HIGH FLYING WORDS AND
PHRASES. I ADMIT, HOWEVER, THAT IF TAKEN SERIOUSLY, THEY MAKE
IT HARDER TO DEVISE EVOCATIVE MESSAGES OFTEN DEEMED APPROPRIATE
TO STATE VISITS.

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12. REGARDS AND GOOD LUCK.
HECK UNQUOTE VANCE

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